

# PEACE NEWS

No. 523 June 21, 1946 2d.

JOAD AGAINST CONSCRIPTION, page 2

## Will Russia help to tame the atom?

VERY properly, Mr. Baruch drove Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes off the front pages last week-end. It is all too easy to become so preoccupied with the settlement of Trieste or Tripolitania as to forget the basic fact that all our short-term peacemaking is subject to the rapid taming by international consent of atomic energy.

The American plan for an Atomic Development Authority is a magnificent initiative—generous, imaginative and bold. As the News Chronicle says (June 15):

"Never before in all history has a nation offered voluntarily to relinquish a decisive weapon—a weapon which in evil hands could at this moment give total dominion throughout the globe."

Mr. Baruch's plan—it is said to be a "Presidential" plan, but it is such a far cry from the "sacred trust" line of the President's previous statecraft in this field that one feels the credit-

### Observer's Commentary

line is no more than nominal—goes even further than the Lilienthal Report. It undermines the power of veto which hamstrung earlier attempts to make UNO work in any seriously internationalist direction. Short of a transcending gesture of "unconditional surrender" it is hard to see how USA could have made more self-evident her good intentions. And who dare feel certain that even such a gesture would have guaranteed world peace the better in the short run?

Incidentally, the plan calls the bluff of those Russian spokesmen in all countries who have built up their "defence of the Soviet Union" on the assumption that US "atom democracy" had disillusioned the innocent Russians of all hope of co-operation with the West. Now we shall see.

#### Inspectors or bombs?

WHAT is doubly pleasing about the proposal is that it is well-received in its own country: a country whose recent record in international responsibility has fallen so short of the necessary minimum. Nobody can accuse the American public of being starry-eyed. The main reason why Americans welcome the plan appears to be that they are weary of war and scared of atomic war (which is compatible with irresponsibility) but recognize that there is safety neither in strength nor in isolation (which is not). Something like a moral revolution, induced perhaps by a combination of both convictions, must have per-

## T.B. AND THE GREEK TRAGEDY

A GREEK doctor, employed by UNRRA, informed Leigh White, Chicago Daily News correspondent, that the great majority of political extremists in Greece are tubercular; and he estimated that at least two-thirds of all Greek Communists suffer from the disease, which springs in large part from under-nourishment.

Since TB victims are subject to alternating periods of exaltation and depression their political as well as physical temperatures are similarly affected. It is a fair assumption that there are comparable repercussions of mal-nutrition on political trends in other hungry European countries. (Human Events, April 24).

sued the ordinary American to accept such a brake on their "Sovereignty."

On this point the New York Times is both clear and hard-headed:

Better foreign inspectors at Oak Ridge (the atomic research HQ) than foreign bombs over our cities or our bombs over foreign cities.

What does Russia want now? Only slavish deference to her wishes could justify outright opposition to the American plan. This is the parting of the ways for the pseudo and the crypto-communists. By this we shall know whether they are only passing pink or by nature red in tooth and claw. The Daily Worker, while awaiting a line from Moscow, alone prepares a frontal attack. The plan is for a "dictatorship"; Mr. Baruch has "presented a virtual ultimatum," contrary to the principles of the Charter, with its protection for individual states through the authority of the Assembly and through the veto power of the principal members of the Security Council.

Protection is the operative word. Interest in Italy

A READY response from Moscow (in defiance of the Worker's "prepared positions") would materially ease the position at Paris, although the projected ADA could scarcely be constituted in the very near future. But the building of confidence between the great Powers would be greatly facilitated.

Mr. Molotov's sudden concern about Italy does not encourage much hope. Russia has no common frontier with Italy—although she may regard herself as being vicariously contiguous in Venezia Giulia. The delayed departure of Umberto now seems a closed incident. There is no appeal, even from the Italian Communists, for a paternal interest in Italian affairs. Has Russia now decided to change the emphasis in her policy at this flash-point? Her backing of Tito's extravagant claims à outrance has not proved conspicuously successful: perhaps she now proposes to woo Italy—and more particularly the Italian Communists—instead of encouraging the South Slavs to bludgeon her. Presumably a Communist Italy could provide *faute de mieux* a trusty guardian for Trieste.

#### Political effervescence

WHAT little limelight was left to the Foreign Ministers had to be shared, in the event, with General de Gaulle, whose flair for publicity has survived his "retirement." It is hard

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

## Pipers and Papers

ONE of our stalwart contributors is a friend named Pijper who lives in Pretoria. We were reminded of this when we read the recent exchanges between the Home Secretary and Sir Oswald Mosley on "tainted money."

The Daily Herald pointed out firmly that the money which it nearly (but not quite) got from Russian diamonds twenty-five years ago would have been "a free and unconditional" gift. It would not have affected its policy.

To that we say "Hear, hear." We don't suppose our Mr. Pijper sells South African diamonds to send us his contributions, but in any event there is no suggestion that the piper (if he'll forgive the pun) calls the tune he pays for. On the contrary, if we dislike the policies of the Smuts Government towards its Indian minority we shall say so. (Probably Mr. Pijper does too.)

All contributions to the Peace News fund are "unconditional." They buttress a corner of freedom which can be a jewel in its own right.

#### THE EDITOR.

Contributions since June 7: £10 13s. 1d. Total for 1946: £369 19s. 1d. Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

DENIS HAYES, CBCO Publications Editor, writes on  
**PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION**

### Is it "to be continued"?

THAT is the prevailing feeling about the Government's long-awaited announcement as to the future of conscription. Compulsory service for men is to go on until the end of 1948 when the position will be reviewed. The White Paper\* gives detailed plans for the next two and a half years but says nothing of the position afterwards: the word "interim" appears constantly between the lines, and occasionally another word appears that looks suspiciously like "compromise."

Evidently within the limits of prevailing agreement the Cabinet has made the most of its opportunities and has effectively put a spoke in the opposition plans, both within the Labour Party (with Conference imminent) and without.

Turning for the moment to detail,

#### Labour's view

Speaking at the Labour Party Conference at Bournemouth, Mr. Arthur Greenwood said:

"Traditionally the Labour Party has never accepted Conscription. But we cannot at this moment with any sense of justice, just wash out the system of compulsory military service."

A resolution flatly rejecting peacetime conscription was defeated.

the policy of conscripting men into the Forces until circumstances allow their release is being changed to a system of fixed-time service. Youths called up in 1947 are to serve for two years. Those called up in 1948 are to serve for periods varying on a sliding scale from two years to eighteen months. And to tidy up the transition, men already conscripted at the end of 1946 are to be released according to age and length of service, provided that all will be released before the end of 1948 when the first of the compulsory fixed-timers will be due for release.

Youths who would otherwise be called up in 1947 (and probably later) may be eligible for deferment only if they are engaged in coalmining, agriculture or some building jobs, but students and apprentices may have their liability deferred. (A modern Vicar of Bray might well include the line "... And so I got deferment.")

#### Thirty the limit

AS many readers know, you have to be over thirty before you become over-age for call-up. (Men born before July, 1915, and liable for military service are not now called up). By the end of 1946, however, only the eighteen-year-olds are to be called up, the sole exception being in the case of youths over that age whose call-up has been deferred on educational grounds.

Now for more general questions. The Government seems intent upon handing over to the voluntary system as much of its man-power burden as possible. In its new recruiting campaign it will have on call, in addition to the age-old methods of show and sound, all the "information" agencies that war-time Britain perfected. And it looks to Fleet Street for loyal help in its task of persuading the people to enlist. Nevertheless, the Government seems but half-convinced that voluntary recruiting will solve its problems. The Women's Services are, however, definitely to be (a) permanent, and (b) voluntary.

The Government complains that

the factors upon which its man-power budget must be based remain uncertain. It has had to take into account Britain's Occupation needs, its requirements "for the resettlement of countries disorganized by the war" and its contribution to the armed strength of UNO. It has been essential, too, to hold a balance between three factors—demobilization, industrial needs and adequate Armies—in a society where Full Employment has, temporarily at least, been realized. This interim plan has been the result.

#### The long-term plan

WHAT is the place of this plan in the long-term picture of conscription? Under the present National Service Acts conscription, as is widely known, is to last until "the end of the emergency" and Council has been issued declaring the emergency formally at an end.

New legislation would be needed to extend the period of conscription after the emergency had been ended in this way, but the Government has postponed a final decision on conscription in the peace by a policy of keeping the emergency alive until the end of 1948 at least, though it seems difficult to believe that the emergency that led to the passing of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act in September, 1939, will be anything but a near-corpse long before then. Still, if there is real legal difficulty, legislation will be speedily introduced to regularize the position.

What it boils down to is this: in the next few months we shall have a real opportunity to go ahead with our job of educating the public mind against conscription. But, however much we talk, however vehement the opponents of conscription in the House, the climax of the struggle is to come later. For

Now is the time for action; not for mad, hysterical action, but a sustained effort, husbanding our strength for a longer effort than once seemed likely, with, ever in mind, a vision of conscription no longer "To be continued" but "To be concluded."

## Prof. Laski asks for "generous internationalism"

### 1. GERMANY

GRIEVOUS as were the wrongs committed by Germans, no good is done either by economic folly like that of Potsdam or by political folly like that preached by those who seek revenge. The grim experience of Versailles ought long ago to have taught us that to deprive even a defeated foe of the right to hope is to take the first step on the road to the next war. . . .

### 2. THE BALKANS

DEATH and imprisonment, suppression and the secret police are, no doubt, powerful weapons for the attainment of an enforced conformity of thought and action; but even though I know how difficult an art is constitutional government, the more I watch in process the activities of the one-party State the less convinced I am of its ability to win, in any permanent way, loyalty of mind and heart from much more than the bureaucratic elite who preside over its destinies. I am aware that revolu-

tions cannot be made with rose-water; but it is equally obvious that long-term coercion does not habitually become the parent of free citizenship. . . .

### 3. RUSSIA

THE Russian rulers sometimes leave the impression that their policy is based on the belief that Western democracy is bankrupt both as an idea and as an institutional system and that the longer the peace settlement is delayed the more likely they are to become its residuary legatees. I venture to think that this view—if it be their view—is wholly mistaken. . . . Russian leaders and British leaders alike have the inescapable obligation to make their Socialism not narrowly nationalist but generously internationalist. On any other terms their failure to understand one another endangers the survival of their civilization, and the United Nations Organization would already be a pale ghost destined to disappear so swiftly that it will not leave even the illusion of a brief respite from tragedy.

(Excerpts from the Presidential address to the Labour Party, not widely reported in the popular press.)

\*"Call Up to the Forces in 1947 and 1948" (Cmd. 6831; HM Stationery Office, 1d.)



## Atomic Frustration

THE American plan for atomic development gives grounds for hope, hope which as The Observer (June 16) says is

"only tempered by the dread, nearly amounting to a conviction that it will not prove acceptable to Moscow and that the chance may be lost, perhaps for ever."

For to make ADA work would require a revolution in the attitude of each of the great nations—an unequivocal abandonment of Sovereignty. Mr. Baruch made no bones about the need to abolish the great Powers' right of veto "so far as it relates to the field of atomic energy." And that is asking a good deal of the Soviet Union, after her tenacious struggle at San Francisco to keep it unimpaired.

The relationship of ADA to the Security Council, where, presumably, the veto power would remain, is clearly a delicate one. The American plan implies that atomic wars are not to be protected by veto (in ADA) while lesser wars may still canvass the connivance (and veto) of any one of the Big Five.

Now, surely this is disingenuous. "Old-fashioned" wars would, presumably, be in danger of becoming atomic wars—unless the line between atomic and other explosives can be firmly held. And, in fact, the Atomic Energy Commission has already been charged with the consideration of other weapons "of mass destruction."

The conclusion seems to be that once ADA was working it must supersede the Security Council as an embryo world government. Desirable as that may be, it is not likely to commend itself to the Russians.

In all this the impotence of the British position is manifest. Beyond doubt Britain wishes neither to use nor receive atomic bombs. We have every reason to be good citizens of the world. Yet it is not enough for us to be good. Once the atomic bombs begin to drop we are, almost inevitably, a target—a coveted base or outpost for one combatant or other. Once again, morality and self-preservation combine to shape our policy towards conciliation.

The new and relatively ineffectual position of this country is nowhere more clearly revealed than here. Until 1939 it was safe to say that there would be no world war unless Britain were a protagonist. Pacifists held that if she were to withdraw from "Power Politics" war must be averted and power politics themselves disintegrated. The example of 'one Great Power' was all we asked: the response of the other powers was taken for granted.

Now the "one Great Power" is pulling out as fast as she can. But as she is ceasing, by force of circumstances, to be a Great Power her example is almost negligible. The genuine element of morality in her attitude is taken for weakness and may even be exploited against her.

The decision as to whether our civilization lives or dies is no longer in British hands. However little we may give offence by our policies in the future we cannot ensure world peace. We may build a model social-democracy in this country and still be an atomized country in a Russo-American war.

The frustration inherent in that situation is almost intolerable.

How can we use our good offices as mediator between and interpreter to the two giant powers so that they are the less likely to blow us all up? To that there is no simple answer. It is a complicated political judgment requiring all the tact and wisdom which both statesmen and people can bring to bear on the job.

Until Russia has shown her hand on that ADA proposal we dare not even suppose that such a task is feasible. But if it is, we shall need to husband all our moral power and prestige to its fulfilment. This is a level at which good intentions alone can lead to the primrose path.

# THE CASE AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

—by—  
**C. E. M. JOAD**

"Man has no right to kill his brother. It is no excuse that he does so in uniform; he only adds the infamy of servitude to the crime of murder." (Shelley)

THE case against conscription is usually presented in terms of feeling. The wickedness of war is denounced, invocations are addressed to freedom and we are bidden to contemplate the outrageous spectacle of young men who have had no choice of voting upon the policies by which they are victimized, being forced to kill other young men whom they have never seen and with whom they have no personal quarrel.

The feelings of indignation aroused by conscription are, in my view, wholly legitimate and it is right and proper that people should entertain them. For the thing is, indeed, wicked and its wickedness touches men very closely.

If I do not present my own case in this way, it is not because I do not feel the emotions—conscription is, in fact, one of the few issues upon which I can still "see red"—but because it is habitual to me to use the language of reasoned argument. Moreover, I believe in the power of reason and think a case so put more likely to have weight with those who do not share the convictions which underlie it than a direct appeal to their emotions.

### Three arguments

Let us see, then, how a barrister would marshal his arguments against the recently announced proposal to conscribe young men for service in HM forces. His case might, I suggest, fall into three parts. First, there is the argument against war; secondly, if this is rejected, there is the argument against conscription as a method of preparing for and waging it; thirdly, if this too be rejected, there is the argument against the introduction of peace-time conscription at the present stage in the history of the world and in particular of our own country.

The first argument is familiar and I need not here labour it. It may be said that war is an offence against morality; it is an explicit repudiation of all the principles of the religion we are supposed to profess. It may be said that war is an offence against reason; so it is. It may be said, finally, that the use of modern atomic weapons in the next war will result in the annihilation of our densely populated society and that there is, therefore, no purpose to be served in preparing for it.

All these contentions are, I think, sound; yet they might be rejected on the ground that war may be thrust upon us against our will—when, by the way, did any nation according to its own account of its motives voluntarily will war?—and that it is wise, therefore, to prepare for it. This, it is true, might well be denied. I should deny it myself, maintaining in the light of the history of Europe during the past four hundred years that the best recipe for the production of war is the preparation for it. Look back over European history and ask yourself which are the nations continually at war. Answer, England and France, Russia and Austria and Prussia! Yet these are also the nations which were so nervous about their security that they were never without large armies and navies to defend themselves. Conversely, the small and undefended countries—Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Portugal and Norway—have a comparatively pacific record.

### No justification

However, let the point be conceded; does it still follow that conscription is justified? Assuredly, it does not. If a nation is unable to inspire its people with sufficient love for itself, sufficient enthusiasm for its policies and a sufficient conviction of the rightness to induce them to fight for it voluntarily, it has no right to make them do so compulsorily. For to compel a man, under pain of death, imprisonment or persecution, to take the lives of other men whom he has not seen, is to deprive him of his freedom. Now, if there is one rule of morality which is at once more

absolute and more universal than another, it is Kant's rule that the individual should be treated as an end with the right of free moral choice, responsible to nobody and nothing but his own conscience for the way in which that choice is exercised. (This argument is, of course, strengthened if we make the further assumption, upon which almost all the great religious teachers have insisted, that the deliverances of conscience are the voice of God speaking in the heart of the individual). This view of the individual is that upon which the advocates of democracy have always insisted.

The opposite view which regards the individual as a cog in the administrative machine or a cell in the organism which is society, possessed of no will or purpose save such as are derived from the State, and endowed

with no rights save such as the State confers, is precisely the doctrine of Totalitarianism which we have for six years been fighting. We cannot, then, be justified on the pretext of defending democracy in adopting an ideology which is a negation of the democracy we are defending any more than we are entitled, having won a war for freedom, to deprive men of the very freedoms whose preservation was the justification of the war. For what freedom can there be in being taken against your will from mine or mill, factory or field, office, school or college, done up in uniform, and mailed as if you were a parcel to some part of the earth's surface, then bidden to kill your fellow human beings whom your religion bids you to love?

(Dr. C. E. M. Joad will conclude this article in next week's issue.)

### Scapegoats and guilt

THOSE who are most impressed by the "atrocities" record imputed to Germany, might study Capt. Liddell Hart's "Revolution of Warfare," which most effectively debunks some popular misconceptions.

The conception of Germany as a kind of Public Enemy No. 1 to be held down by main force for the sake of her immaculate neighbours is not only adrift from the facts: it is a positive danger, since it diverts attention from the question whether an effective barrier can be erected against further Soviet aggrandisement. Until lately, the official attitude appeared to be that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

The Times lamented the "deplorable tendency to divide the world, and Europe with it, into two groups looking to the Soviet Union and the United States as their respective protagonists. . . . Neither Great Britain nor the Soviet Union can afford without loss to turn their backs on the policy registered in the Anglo-Soviet alliance."

But that alliance was never more than a makeshift contrivance—a temporary bond between two Powers with a common enemy. Britain was impelled by commercial rivalry with Germany and by concern for the Balance of Power in Europe; the Soviet Union by the hope of winning Europe for Communism and realizing century-old Russian aspirations in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. These aims were quite incompatible. The City of London detested Hitler's "barter" system. Britain was determined to maintain the status quo ante in Europe so far as possible and to safeguard her "life-line" to India. It was therefore a logical certainty that on Hitler's fall the Anglo-Russian alliance would collapse.

Yet the elaborate farce of UNO must be kept up, because it is based upon the fiction of Germany's (and Japan's) war guilt; and this must be maintained in the face of reason, since the truth would be far too bitter to swallow. Robert Henriques, reviewing Liddell Hart's book in the Observer admits his perplexity:

"Can we accept all that—and a good deal more of the like? It is obvious that in our present mood we can't; but it is an uneasy thought that the time may come when there may seem a little less unreason and falsity behind it."

The time will most surely come, and with it self-reproach at our unwitting connivance in a gigantic imposture and miscarriage of justice.

E. W. P. VEALE.

### Subtle Indian mind

ENGLISH not being my mother tongue, I have had to consult the dictionary to find out exactly what "Observer" (Peace News, May 31) meant by the word "subtle" in its application to the Indian mind. I presume he meant "shrewd."

There is another English word. It is "diddling." I do not know its exact meaning, but I do understand its implication in usage. For instance, if one is not shrewd enough one is likely to be diddled or led up the garden path.

Let "Observer" put himself in the place of the Indians then, he will realize how very shrewd he will need to be with the representatives of a ruling power whose betrayal of faith to the people of India, time and again, has been a tragic lesson.

SYED ABDUL HUCK.

28 Holyhead Road, Coventry.

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### Where is the waste?

I MUST write concerning Sgt. L. Fitzgerald's letter in Peace News dated 24th May, 1946, as I feel very strongly on his allegations that food is wasted in Polish DP Camps in Germany. I am working in a concentrated hard core area of Polish DP Camps and am

all day in various camps. It is true that Polish DP's

get slightly more rations than the German Civilian, but how food can be wasted at the camps I have yet to know. The DP ration of bread for a whole week is seven-eighths of a loaf (the loaf out here is the size of an English 2lb. loaf but is a very dark brown colour and weighs heavier) and one can realize that none of that can be wasted. The other rations are so small that I have no worry about writing on the waste of those things.

I quite agree that the German rations are hopelessly inadequate to maintain health. Children in Berlin when given new vests by the British Red Cross have to have them cut at the bottom so that they will fit over their distended stomachs due to lack of food.

ALBERT W. HARRIS.

Albert W. Harris (G.I.S.),  
Relief Section 107,  
British Red Cross, BAOR.

From my heart I am most grateful to the Editor of Peace News for the publicity of my letter dated 7th May, 1946. As an individual I can help these unfortunate children in Germany by bringing to the eyes of the public true facts which thousands of soldiers like myself have witnessed.

L. FITZGERALD.

11268794 Sgt. L. Fitzgerald,  
School of Artillery, BAOR.

### Impersonal

YESTERDAY, when at the pictures, we saw some excellent shots on the news of the Simla conference. When Gandhi was shown, there was, of course, the usual laughs. Then a thought struck me. Supposing the country was being invaded (not inconceivable, alas) and this prayer meeting was one of many, perhaps part of a non-violent resistance campaign. One atomic bomb, just one, and the greatest contemporary advocate of non-violence would be what? And what would be the chances of a campaign keeping together when its main leader is gone? Another leader, another prayer meeting, another atomic bomb?

Non-violence, as now advocated, rests such a lot upon personal contacts, and two miles in the air just does not offer any. What power non-violence now?

KEITH C. TREACHER.

35 Silverdale Road,  
Hove, Sussex.

## HOUSMAN'S

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124 SHAFESBURY AVENUE, W.1.



## Holidays abroad

The International Friendship League, founded by a Quaker in 1931, is to be congratulated on the arrangements it has been able to make this year, despite all the difficulties, for the resumption of peace-time holidays abroad. As a result it is anticipated that hundreds of young visitors from this country will be going to Holland, France, Denmark and Switzerland this summer.

Two centres will be open in France this year, one on the Normandy coast and the other in the high Savoy Alps, while private hospitality with Danish families in the Copenhagen area will be available. One of the Dutch centres is at Arnhem.

For those wishing to visit Switzerland the all-inclusive charge for two weeks' holiday is only £16. At the same time arrangements are also in hand for several hundred young Dutch men and women to visit Britain but permission from the Home Office is still awaited.

All enquiries should be addressed to Mr. Fred Simpson of the IFL, at 3 Chesterford Gardens, London, N.W.3.

## WORDS OF PEACE - No. 175

Where for us here is the visible experience of this desperate world? Doesn't one think one should, laden with the years-long consciousness of whatever of evil is fulfilling itself therein, finally come to some place where people are on their knees and crying out? This I should understand, I should throw myself down among them and might then have my outcry under the shelter of theirs. But to participate in the visitation means here in our country reading the newspapers—stuffing oneself with the ambiguous sham-happenings they are daily piling up, and at last not being able to think of pain and anxiety except in the transposition they inflict upon everything.

Fearful as the war is in itself, it seems to me still more dreadful that the pressure of it has nowhere helped to bring man out more distinctly, to face him—the individual or the mass—face to face with God, as great tribulations in earlier times had power to do. On the plane now cultivated, on which the newspapers can give a conscienceless verbal cross-section of all that happens (a hotch-potch in which what is beyond knowing stands beside the factual, the most commercial beside the most incalculable)—on this plane an incessant equalization of all tensions is created and humanity becomes accustomed continually to accept a world of news in place of realities, which no-one has time or inclination any more to let grow large and heavy within himself.

—RAINER MARIA RILKE, 1918.

## A new play reviewed by W. H. Gelder

# THE DOVE AND THE CARPENTER

THE third production in the international season of new plays at the Arts Theatre is a satirical extravaganza by L. E. Jones called "The Dove and the Carpenter." The dove is Peace, of course, and the carpenter is a character in the play who is representative of "little men" in every country.

The chief fault of the play, as a play, is that its outline is a trifle blurred in places and that it sometimes appears to go round in circles, uncertain of its objective. (The author might well reply that as he is showing us a Peace conference his play is justified in reflecting its subject-matter so faithfully.)

The chief merit of the play is that, for the most part, it is extremely entertaining. Joe Smith, the British delegate (looking wickedly like Ernie Bevin without his glasses), deservedly brings down the house when, after a fracas with the Russian delegate, he says: "For fifteen years I've been saying 'Hands off Russia' and, the first Russian I meet, I can't keep my own 'ands off 'im." And there are other individual lines which are almost as near the mark in topicality and wit; indeed, the play as a whole is as topical as tomorrow's newspaper.

The level of inspiration of its wit declines a little from the first act onwards (the second is the weakest), but the third substitutes for wit a situation of great and universal interest: whether or not the atom bomb should be used against a country which obstructs peace-making. One may or may not agree with the ultimate decision to use the bomb, but one must surely agree that both sides have been tolerably well put and that the outcome is at least plausible. In fact, I should say that the play is remarkable for its author's detachment; it would be difficult to say where his political sympathies lie, and he appears to have no sectarian axe to grind. He pokes fun with particular success at the American representative (excellently played by James Hayter), but he has his dig at the Russians as well; nor do the British and Chinese delegates get off scot-free.

In short, the play reminds one strongly of "Geneva," and while Mr. Jones may not share Mr. Shaw's profundity or political insight he can make us laugh not less readily and rather more often. If I had to see one of these two plays again, I think I would risk reputation and choose "The Dove and the Carpenter."

And the Field-Marshal who is content to relate facts said: "British troops are not natural killers. They have to be blooded up for it. All this has to be taught in our schools. The cause alone without the iron hand of discipline is no good."

## Warriors and facts

As an after-dinner speaker, Sir Alan Herbert, said recently:

"I CONGRATULATE everybody in the literary world and all through the English-speaking world, on the apparition of a great new comic writer—a man who has not been content, like Field-Marshal Montgomery, to relate facts, but one who has used his imagination and has dealt with fancy and humour. His name is Mr. Ralph Napoleon Ingersoll. His rank I forget, but it must be at least something like Air Field-Marshal of the Fleet." His work is called 'Top Secret' or 'Burn Before Reading,' the sub-title being my own."

And the Field-Marshal who is content to relate facts said:

"British troops are not natural killers. They have to be blooded up for it. All this has to be taught in our schools. The cause alone without the iron hand of discipline is no good."

## Basic Issues - No. 8

### EDUCATION AND CULTURE

This is the eighth instalment of the draft interim report of the International, Industrial and Social Order Committee of the PPU.

Comment and criticism will be welcomed by the committee in preparing the final draft, and should be sent to its Secretary, Dr. A. K. Jameson, at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

### SECTION SEVEN

1. The aim of education is to train the person in the art of living, which involves the discovery and fulfilment of personal vocation. For this purpose he must acquire: (a) knowledge of what exists in the material universe and of how to deal with it, and (b) knowledge of material and spiritual values and of their relative importance, which is gained by increase of sensitivity in the emotional, aesthetic, moral and religious fields.
2. It is vital that those two forms of knowledge should go hand in hand. The divorce between them which has come about in recent centuries is the cause of the present catastrophic state of the world and nothing but a re-integration of the two can save mankind. The material, which is concerned solely with means, must never control the spiritual, which is concerned with purpose.
3. In view of the infinite variety of human nature, education

must be adapted to the natural capacities and tastes of each person and must develop personality on all sides. It must foster creative imagination and give full play to creative impulses. It must combine the academic with craftsmanship and contact with nature. Art, religion and recreation must be integral parts of education instead of being superficial additions as they tend to be at present.

4. Education must provide a training in personal responsibility, self-reliance and social duties. By this means self-reliant communities will be built up. It should aim at enlarging the sympathies of the individual until they embrace all mankind.

5. The central educational authority should prescribe minimum standards in education, but the local control we have envisaged will provide for experiments in many directions.

6. Such a form of education will bring out the infinite variety of human nature, will avoid the present deadening uniformity and, by being emotionally satisfying, will provide an antidote to war, the attraction of which lies largely in its offering to so many a way of escape from the boredom of modern existence.

### PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

### MEETINGS, &c.

**BIRMINGHAM.** PPU Annual Garden Party at the B'ham Association of Boys' and Girls' Clubs, 26 Bristol Rd. on Sat., June 29, 3-9 p.m. Baby Show, Music, Speakers, Sports, Film Show, Treasure Hunt, Competitions and "The Thursday Puppets" in: "The Story of Tunesy" and the quarrel scene from "The School for Scandal." Admission by programme, 1s. Funds to B'ham Dick Sheppard House.

**BLANDFORD, DORSET.** Bryanton School. The Annual Summer Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation will be held from Aug. 3-9. The subject is "Pacifism in Practice." Speakers include the Rev. Prof. L. W. Grensted, the Rev. Clifford Macquire, the Rev. Sam Mason, the Rev. Glyn Lloyd Phelps, the Rev. Hampden Horne, Dr. Herbert Hodgkin. Cost £3 7s. 6d. per head, children under 14 half-price.

**EUSTON.** Friends House, Conference July 27. Sessions 11 a.m.—1 p.m., 2.30—5 p.m. "Education for Democracy." Chairman, Lyn Harris (St. Christopher School). Speakers, Andrew Tomlinson (Beltane School), Eric Swift (Leicester). Hospitality on request. Parties, from Patrick Figgis, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

**LONDON, W.C.1.** 8 Endsleigh Gardens, discussion lectures every Sunday, 7.30 p.m., June 23, "Building and the People." Colin Ward, Duncan Gilchrist. London Anarchist Group.

**LONDON, W.C.2.** Kingsway Hall, Fri., June 21, 1.15 p.m. "Operation Joseph—The New International Food Plan." Ritchie Calder. Lunch-hour meetings, National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

**LONDON, W.C.2.** Kingsway Hall, Friday, June 28, 1.15 p.m., "World Economics—Britain and the USA." G. D. H. Cole. Lunch-hr. meetings, National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

**ROMFORD, L.A.B.** Friends House, Victoria Rd., Sat., June 29, 7.30 p.m. Symphonies on records and refreshments.

**STREATHAM COMMON, Sunday,** June 23, 7 p.m. Eric Tucker and others.

### ACCOMMODATION

ANYONE WILLING rent, loan, recommend premises to group wishing commence Christian Bookshop in London. Box 425.

**QUIET MAN** (36), single, would like unfurn. flatlet or even one room in Dorking or Horsham area. Please help if possible. Box 417.

**WOULD ANY** Pacifists Bourne-mouth or Swanage area let bed-sitting or bedroom to male C.O. Breakfast if possible. Willing to help with house, indoor or out. Highest refs. Box 412.

**SEASIDE HOLIDAYS** during Aug. Would any comrade offer hospitality to two girls, 13 and 6, at mod. terms. Box 427.

**EVESHAM, FURN.** rooms, use kitchen and bath available to holiday couple or two ladies. Rent 2 gns. weekly. Box 422.

**SOMERSET VACANCIES** for July, Aug. and Sept. at Charity Cottage, Littleton, Nr. Somerset. Terms 2½ gns. per week. Box 428.

**PEACEFUL HOLIDAYS.** Quiet Guest House in beautiful surroundings has a few vacancies. Breakfast in bed. Finlayson, Steanbridge, Nr. Stroud, Glos. Tel.: Painswick 2312.

**LAKE DISTRICT.** Beck Allans and Rothay Bank, Grasmere, attractive vegetarian guest houses for strenuous or restful holidays. Write: Isabel James, Beck Allans, Grasmere. Tel.: 129.

**FLAMING JUNE** at Gara Mill House, Slapton, Kingsbridge. Arrival station Dartmouth. Tel. Stoke Fleming 95. s.a.e. for parties.

**RUSHMORE GUEST Hse.** Selsey, 200 yds. from sea, comfortable homely, terms mod., early booking avoid disappointment. Brochure Victor Smith (Manager) Stephen Stoner & Co., Ltd.). Tel.: Selsey 212.

**SEA, SUN** and sand. Poets' village. Lovely bathing. Orchard, Garden. Small, quiet Guest House. Aug./Sept. only. Terms—6/7 gns. p.w. Codex, Kensall's Library, Main Road, Felpham, Bognor Regis, Sussex. (Middleton—577).

**DERBYSHIRE HILLS.** Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

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### FOR SALE & WANTED

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**"NEW STATESMAN** and Nation," 210 copies from May 1942, also 145 daily Hansard and 17 weekly editions from Oct., 1944. Offers to BM/CASA, London, W.C.1.

### LITERATURE, &c.

**"HEALTH** and Life in the South Seas," by Harry Howatt, 6d. "Ripples on the Pool, Original aphorisms for those valuing individual thought," by D. Robertson Laing. 1s. Box 432.

**"CO-OPERATE OR Die."** A study of World Resources and the Discovery of the Atomic Bomb. By Dr. William Agar of the U.S. Geological Survey. 7d., post free, from Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

**QUAKERISM.** Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

### PERSONAL

**WILL ANYONE** help widower (recent) by taking two children 8 and 6 interim period few months? Mod. means. Box 421.

**TWO YOUNG CO's** require to rent a few acres of land with accommodation. Frank Stegless, Oliver's Farm, Shrub End, Colchester.

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**CO WANTS** contact experienced watchmaker to start retail business on partnership terms, capital available. Box 418.

**AUTHOR** requires collaborator/revisionist, ideal living conditions, for creative work. Minimum registration. Fullst parties. stp. Box 431.

### BIRTHS

**RODGER, ON** June 14, to Betty and Donald Rodger, two daughters. Mother and babies are well at Butleigh Hospital, Butleigh, Glastonbury, and father is recovering nicely at The Chalet Youth Hostel, Street, Somerset.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

**THE POST** of Gen. Secretary of PPU becomes vacant on August 1st. For parties, write to Chairman, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

**PEACE NEWS** urgently requires an experienced shorthand-typist. Interesting job for someone willing to join in the general work of the office. Details from the Office Manager, PN, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

**THERE WILL** shortly be a vacancy at Peace News staff for a junior assistant in the Publishing Dept. Wide variety of work including switchboard, reception, records and general duties. Most likely to suit a responsible young person but other applicants are welcomed. Details from above.

**JOINER, AMATEUR** or pro. wanted to repair caravan and panel farmhouse walls. Fortnight's work. Live in. Bellairs, Llwyn du, Eglwysbach, Tal-y-cafn, Denbighshire.

**COOK-HOUSEKEEPER** and assistant for Pacifist Service Unit. Interesting work. Resident or daily. See below.

**A POST-WAR** career in social work. PSU offers valuable opportunities for training and experience. Good prospects for right men and women. Write: 86 Rusholme Road, Manchester, 13.

**VACANCY GIRLS' Club** Leader East London as Housekeeper in Hostel with three workers. Maintenance provided with personal £2 a week. Reply stating experience, Box 419.

**DEVON SEASIDE** Guest House urgently needs reliable person to cook vegetarian meals during present summer. Good salary. Box 430.

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**QUALIFIED MEDICAL** assistant wanted. Please apply to Dr. Thomas, St. Clare, Garth Villas, Merthyr Tydfil.

**SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED** WORK IN Grocery-Provision Trade in the South East or South England; sought by released CO with 12 yrs. experience including Managership. Suggestions please to CBCE, Employment Sect., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

**LAND WORKING** CO and girl friend (WLA) seek joint job with living accommodation in home counties. General experience including tractor driving, machine milking, etc. Suggestions please to above.

**CO DEMOB** June. Seeks post of trust. Experienced grocery trade, other work considered. Accommodation desired. Married two children. Box 429.

**CO, 26,** requires market-gardening work, Somerset preferred. Available Aug. or sooner if desired. Accommodation essential. Apply to Box 428.

**AS REPRESENTATIVE,** pacifist, 26 yrs., single, seeks opening, hard worker, excellent refs., 8 yrs. wide experience as sales clerk, publishers, food distributors, builders merchants and estate agents. Box 426.

**EMPLOYMENT REQUIRED** by CO, 28, 8 years office, 6 years land work, able to drive. Anything considered. Box 424.

**ODD JOBS** or part-time employment London dist. Released CO now, student. Box 423.

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# Is Congress shirking power?

## 'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

to resist the suspicion that the timing of his come-back was determined by the French political scene, where the Communists' rejection of MRP's claim for the premiership of the new Government had encouraged that "disaffection" towards national institutions which the General says he fears.

But his thinly-disguised plea for strong-man government does not help. His outlined Constitution is so far to the right of the bi-cameralists in MRP that it can only embarrass them, while the rest of the political front will reject it out of hand. All in all, this attempt by the gangling General to cash-in on the threatened disillusion in France is fraught with danger. There is much sound sense in his comments on "the rivalry of parties," though it ill becomes *le grand Charles* to tilt at "our perpetual political effervescence."

## The last hour in India

STILL the Indian situation hovers on the brink of catastrophe. While the sparring for position in New Delhi continues, nation-wide strikes and famine draw imminent. Congress has clearly been out-manoeuvred by the astute Mr. Jinnah: it remains to be seen whether the delicate balance of nominees for the Provisional Government will restore the position.

The patience of the Cabinet Mission and of the Viceroy deserve better of the Indians than a final rebuff. One wishes profoundly that the Congress leaders would take their eyes off the legal technicalities of the position and see, instead, the substance of power which is theirs for the taking. But one fears that the past dogs our footsteps so fatally that the very will to undertake responsibility has been sapped by the history of opposition and criticism.

Mr. Gandhi's influence seems to have been thrown consistently on the side of acceptance, and one can scarcely believe that Pandit Nehru is willing to allow such a great opportunity to pass away. Yet that is what must happen unless the interim Government has the backing of the major parties. That, or worse: for if Congress is determined to hold out for a "tougher" settlement with the Muslim League it may well have to fight for it. That is the prospect which Mr. Jinnah faced and rejected recently.

## "THE FARMER"

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It would be a thousand pities if Congress fell below that standard of responsibility.

## Mr. Bevin's conference

THE Bournemouth Conference of the Labour Party was a notable occasion. Largely, of course, it was a celebration of victory at the polls—a luxury which the Party will not be able to permit itself in future years. As Prof. Laski said, the Party constitution tacitly assumes that Labour is in opposition, not in office. New machinery is to be created by next year to determine relations between the rank-and-file and Government so far as policy-making is concerned.

This was, above all, Mr. Bevin's Conference. "That great mountain of a man," says Mr. W. J. Brown, MP (Evening Standard, June 14) "is pivotal, while his health lasts, to the future of the Socialist Government." Although not all of his critics spoke up—one, at least, Mr. Dodd, chose to deliver his attack at the Co-op Conference elsewhere—Mr. Bevin gained an overwhelming vote of confidence from his own party, where the chief misgivings about Foreign Policy have lain. And the Communists gained a correspondingly decisive rebuff.

Of the 468,000 votes cast for their affiliation, over 400,000 (according to the Daily Worker) came from two Unions—the Engineers and Railwaymen. But disenchantment with the Soviet Union as a "socialist fatherland" is not yet very sophisticated in the Party.

For the moment, as the Daily Herald picturesquely puts it:

The decision must be sadly discouraging to those few incorrigible critics of that (Foreign) policy who are camping out under the Left Wing of British social democracy with commissars' batons in their knapsacks.

## Hysteria over Palestine

MR. Bevin's passing reference to American support for Jewish immigration to Palestine raised a remarkable storm. Having asked that he should not be misunderstood, he suggested that much of this agitation was "because they do not want too many of them in New York."

I do not know whether Mr. Bevin was misunderstood or no, but the reaction by presumably responsible persons in USA was truly alarming. "Britain strips her mask" is how the New York Post captioned its story, which began:

"The fraud, deceit and trickery that has characterized British policy since the Balfour Declaration got a rare publicly enunciated flip from the Foreign Secretary."

Other newspapers and commentators used such phrases as "an outright anti-semitic outburst that would have gladdened the heart of Adolf Hitler"; "gratuitous studied insult"; "despicable" and "horrificing."

A group of Congressmen alleged, by way of makeweight, that Mr. Bevin had been

"plotting the escape of the Mufti to forestall Jewish immigration into Palestine. His scheme is nothing less than diabolic."

This is some indication of the hysterical mental climate in which policies for Palestine are considered in America. Viewed coolly, Mr. Bevin's statement is undiplomatic, but it is an opinion which an honest man may surely hold. The only way to disprove it would be for USA to take some of the homeless Jews into her own country. And that is the last thing we may expect. This is an aspect of the American attitude which is at variance with the atomic development plan. Presumably all her generosity has gone into the latter.

## "Humbug for Hodge" as a Peace News Pamphlet

"The farm-worker is not on strike," concludes John Middleton Murry in the new Peace News pamphlet published to-day, "because he is a better socialist than any other worker in the country." This pamphlet, which argues the injustice of the land worker's treatment by the Government, is entitled "Humbug for Hodge," and first appeared in The Adelphi.

For those who do not already get this series with their PN, the price remains at one penny, plus postage.

## "FEAST OF FRONTIERS"

A festival of international goodwill is to be held on Sunday next, June 23, on Hampstead Heath. This "Feast of Frontiers" as it is called marks the first public celebration of the proposed universal holiday. The rally will assemble at the Spaniards Inn at 3 p.m. followed by an open-air meeting. The Service-Nation Movement of 20 Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.2, is organizing this event.

## ACTION AGAINST FAMINE

## Bread rationing here:

## No more for Germany

MR. John Strachey, Minister of Food, denied recent statements to the effect that bread probably would not be rationed after all, when broadcasting on Sunday last, before leaving on his mission to Canada and the United States. He reiterated that bread rationing is "highly probable" and that a cut in the soap ration was certain.

"I hope to sign an agreement with the Canadian Government under which we shall buy our main supply of wheat in the coming period," he said. Yesterday he was to attend the first meeting of the International Emergency Food Council in Washington.

In his BBC broadcast the Food Minister further declared: "I say to the whole world that this country cannot to-day give a greater proof of its international good faith than by preparing to ration its own bread."

Addressing 200 German food officials from the British and American zones at a special conference in Hamburg last week, Lt-General Sir Brian Robertson, deputy military governor of the British zone, held out little hope of an increase in rations during the next few months.

"While the purposes of our occupation of Germany necessitate the doing of things which may seem to the German people harsh and destructive, our ultimate purposes are not punitive," said General Robertson. He advocated the free movement of persons and goods between all four zones.

In a letter to the Times last week, the sponsors of "Save Europe Now" suggested that the question of bread rationing is being approached in a wholly wrong spirit. A policy of rationing bread only if orderly distribution in this country demands it and not for the purpose of further alleviating distress abroad, is an indefensible one, they state.

"Our information is that, according to the highest expert opinion, a scheme which would not involve the smallest threat of malnutrition to anyone would save over 500,000 tons of wheat a year. If that is so, bread should in any event be rationed without a moment's delay."

## Did you see?

At the Co-operative Party conference held in Brighton at Easter a resolution urging the end of conscription was carried by a small majority. Also passed a resolution proposing the abolition of the House of Lords.

Speaking in a roofless bomb-shattered church in Nuremberg recently, Pastor Niemoller is reported to have said when mourning the death of millions of Jews in Central Europe:

"Dear brother, I know how my people and the Christian Church have sinned against your people. Forgive us if you can."

About 800,000 pairs of shoes have reached Norway since Liberation Day, but there are 3,000,000 people who need at least one pair each.—Daily Mail, April 27.

The recent Japanese elections have revealed an interesting discrepancy between sums spent and members elected by different parties. Thus the Liberal Party, the principal election victor, spent 741,742 yen and elected 141 members to the Diet, whereas the Communist Party spent 665,114 yen, the second largest sum, but elected only 5 members. On the other hand, the Socialists, spending only one-tenth as much as the Communists, sent 92 members to the Diet.—Human Events, May 8.

## WILKINS WANTS 3 MONTHS

AT his Aldershot court-martial on June 14, W. R. Wilkins, of Brighton, who had become a CO while serving in Italy, invited a sentence of three months to enable him to appear before an Advisory Tribunal.

Though he had previously been sentenced to ten (reduced to five) years penal servitude in Italy, this did not entitle him to a Tribunal, because the offence had been committed overseas. The sentence had been suspended after twelve months.

The new sentence is to be promulgated.

Published from 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16

## Trafalgar Square on Sunday next

THE first large Central London demonstration against Conscription, organized by the PPU, is to take place in Trafalgar Square on Sunday next, June 23. The meeting is to run continuously from 3 to 8 p.m., with an interval for tea during which music will be played through the loud speakers. The platform is an all-pacifist one but some of the speakers (see advertisement this page) who will present different aspects of the case against conscription, may be new to some PPU members.

It is hoped that this meeting will prove a rallying point for all those who are anxious about the drastic curtailment of our liberties which peacetime conscription would involve.

Signatures will be collected for a petition, sponsored by the No Conscription Council, which will be presented by their constituents to each MP. PPU members and friends who can offer help on Saturday or Sunday are asked to get in touch with Gwyneth Anderson at Dick Sheppard House.

## Anniversary P.N. selling

The Trafalgar Square Rally will be the occasion of a mass Peace News selling to celebrate the paper's 10th anniversary. "V" week-end was so mis-timed as to coincide with this event, but we hope to show London that peace hath her victories too, and invite all who can come to help us brighten the town with Peace News posters.

Volunteers are asked to report to Harry Mister on the steps of St. Martin's any time from 2 p.m. onwards, for either the afternoon or evening meetings (or both). Peace News, current literature and posters will be provided. We apologise to readers for this short notice but look forward to greeting a large muster of workers.

## V-weekend in Hyde Park

VICTORY week-end sightseers were encouragingly friendly to the pacifist message, and to severe criticisms of rejoicings in a world of famine and fear of future war, when Bryan Anstey addressed a crowd of over two hundred in Hyde Park on Victory Sunday.

Afterwards Peace News was sold outside the gates and several contacts made with pacifists from Europe and the Dominions, who congratulated the organizers of the meeting on the use they were making of freedom of speech. Doubts had been expressed beforehand as to whether the Victory week-end was an appropriate occasion for pacifist propaganda, but the first few minutes of the meeting showed that the public mood was unusually receptive. This provided a very good opening to the regular Tuesday meetings which will be held in the park during the rest of the summer.

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**THE CASE AGAINST CONSCRIPTION**

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3-5 p.m. and 6-8 p.m.  
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Michael Tippet Philip Millwood  
Phyllis Vallance Rosalind Rushbridge  
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